

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

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O P 081610Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9496

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ATHENS 5099

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR GR TU

SUBJ: CYPRUS AND GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS

1. TODAY I HAD A PRIVATE MEETING WITH FONMIN BITSIOS DURING WHICH WE HAD A LONG DISCUSSION OF THE CYPRUS SITUATION AND OVERALL GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS. WE ALSO DISCUSSED A NUMBER OF OTHER SUBJECTS, BEING REPORTED SEPARATELY.

2. AT THE OUTSET, IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION, BITSIOS SAID HE WAS "TIRED AND DISCOURAGED". THE NEWS FROM CYPRUS WAS BAD, HE SAID, AND FROM ANKARA THERE HAD BEEN ONLY SILENCE SINCE PRIMIN CARAMANLIS AND DEMIREL HAD MET IN BRUSSELS OVER FIVE WEEKS AGO.

3. ON CYPRUS, FOR EXAMPLE, THERE HAD BEEN THE FORCED EXPULSION OF GREEK CYPRIOTS FROM KARPASS AND THERE WERE INCREASING INDICATIONS THAT TURKS FROM THE MAINLAND WERE MOVING TO NORTHERN CYPRUS TO TAKE OVER HOMES AND PROPERTIES EARLIER VACATED BY GREEK CYPRIOTS. IN FACT, RUMORS WERE RIFE THAT MANY THOUSANDS OF TURKS WOULD BE MOVING TO CYPRUS OVER COMING WEEKS AND MONTHS TO FILL UP THE NORTHERN OCCUPIED ZONE OF THE ISLAND. AT THE SAME TIME, AS WE WERE RAPIDLY APPROACHING THE IMPORTANT NEXT ROUND OF CLERIDES-DENKTASH TALKS IN VIENNA, PREPARATIONS SEEMED TO BE AT A STANDSTILL. DENKTASH WAS AWAY FROM CYPRUS TRAVELING AROUND AND TRYING TO MAKE CONTACTS

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IN SOME OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES. IT SEEMED THAT DENKTASH HAD BEEN

UNLEASHED BY ANKARA AND WAS BEING GIVEN A RELATIVELY FREE HAND TO DEAL WITH QUESTIONS CONCERNING CYPRUS.

4. FROM ANKARA, THERE HAD BEEN VIRTUALLY NOTHING--UNLESS ONE CHOSE TO COUNT DEMIREL'S HARD-LINING PARIS MATCH INTERVIEW IN WHICH HE RESTATED ALL THE OLD AND UNACCEPTABLE TURKISH POSITIONS. THE BI-LATERAL MEETING OF EXPERTS IN ANKARA CONCERNING AEGEAN AIR SPACE PROBLEMS HAD ENDED INCONCLUSIVELY AND A NEW ROUND WOULD BE REQUIRED IN ATHENS (SEPTEL). CAGLAYANGIL AND THE TURKS CONTINUE TO STALL ON SETTING A DATE FOR A BI-LATERAL MEETING TO DRAFT THE FAMOUS "COMPROMIS" FOR THE JOINT GREEK-TURKISH SUBMISSION OF THE AEGEAN CONTINENTAL SHELF DISPUTE TO THE WORLD COURT IN THE HAGUE (SEPTEL). AT THE SAME TIME, TURKISH MILITARY AIRCRAFT--DESPITE WHAT THE GREEK GOVERNMENT THOUGHT--HAD BEEN AN AMICABLE, MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY PREARRANGEMENT--VIOLATED GREEK AIR SPACE WITHOUT AUTHORIZATION THREE TIMES YESTERDAY (SEPTEL), AND A TURKISH-CONTRACTED RESEARCH VESSEL--THE GOEL I--HAD UNAUTHORIZEDLY ENTERED GREEK TERRITORIAL WATERS LAST WEEK DESPITE EARLIER ASSURANCES THAT IT WOULD NOT DO SO. (SEPTEL).

5. AS BITSIOS CONTINUED IN WHAT I TOOK TO BE AN ESPECIALLY SIGNIFICANT LINE OF THOUGHT, HE SAID THAT IF ONLY THERE HAD BEEN SOME LIMITED PROGRESS ON BI-LATERAL GREEK-TURKISH PROBLEMS, HE AND CARAMANLIS MIGHT BE ABLE TO ACCEPT AND BELIEVE THE CAGLAYANGIL THESIS--PRESENTED IN BRUSSELS--THAT THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN TURKEY WAS SO COMPLEX AND DIFFICULT (AS FAR AS CYPRUS WAS CONCERNED) THAT IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO PREPARE A DOMESTIC CONSENSUS IN ORDER TO NEGOTIATE A REASONABLE SETTLEMENT. BITSIOS SAID THAT FRANKLY HE CONSIDERED THIS THESIS VERY SUSPECT. IN THE FIRST PLACE, NO MATTER HOW FRACTURED TURKISH POSITIONS WERE ON A WHOLE HOST OF DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS, SINCE 1955 AT LEAST THERE HAD BEEN NO DIFFICULTY AT ALL IN TURKEY IN FORGING A DOMESTIC CONSENSUS WITH RESPECT TO CYPRUS. THEREFORE, IT WAS HARD TO ACCEPT THAT SUCH A CONSENSUS WAS PROVING SO DIFFICULT NOW. MOREOVER, THE BI-LATERAL QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE AEGEAN AND AEGEAN AIR SPACE REALLY HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH CYPRUS, BUT THERE HAD BEEN NO

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MOVEMENT IN THE TURKISH POSITION ON ANY OF THESE EITHER.

6. BITSIOS SAID THAT AS HE HAD TOLD ME WHEN HE AND CARAMANLIS FIRST RETURNED FROM BRUSSELS (ATHENS 4273), CARAMANLIS WANTED TO GIVE THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT SOME TIME, AS THEY HAD REQUESTED IN BRUSSELS, TO TRY TO WORK OUT OF SOME OF THEIR DOMESTIC DIFFICULTIES IN TURKEY SO AS TO MOVE AHEAD TOWARD A SETTLEMENT OF CYPRUS AND A NUMBER OF OTHER GREEK-

TURKISH PROBLEMS. HE SAID THAT HE AND CARAMANLIS HAD EXPECTED TO HAVE SOME INDICATION FROM DEMIREL AND CAGLAYANGIL WITHIN A COUPLE OF WEEKS AFTER THEY LEFT BRUSSELS OF WHAT COULD BE DONE. HOWEVER, SO FAR "NOT A WORD".

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7. THEREFORE, BITSIOS SAID HE HAD DRAFTED A MESSAGE TO CAGLAYANGIL THAT WOULD BE DELIVERED TOMORROW MORNING AT 10:00 A.M. IN ANKARA. THE MESSAGE REFERRED TO ALL THE MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE POINTS THAT HAD BEEN DISCUSSED IN BRUSSELS AND EARLIER IN MAY AT THEIR BI-LATERAL MEETING IN ROME. BITSIOS SAID THAT HIS MESSAGE WOULD BE URGING IN QUITE STRONG BUT UNOFFENSIVE TERMS THAT PROGRESS BE ATTEMPTED ON ALL OF THESE POINTS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND REAFFIRMING GREEK WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE IN A CONSTRUCTIVE FRAME OF MIND TO SUCH AN END. HE HOPED THAT THE MESSAGE WOULD BE WELL RECEIVED IN ANKARA AND THAT HE WOULD SOON BE RECEIVING A POSITIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE REPLY. I SAID I FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO BELIEVE THAT IF THE TURKS HAD PROMISED HIM AND CARAMANLIS SOME KIND OF MESSAGE IN A REASONABLE PERIOD OF TIME FOLLOWING THEIR DEPARTURE FROM BRUSSELS THAT HE HAD NOT HEARD ANYTHING FROM ANKARA IN THESE PAST WEEKS. BITSIOS SAID THAT HE HAD IN FACT HAD ONE BRIEF ORAL MESSAGE FROM CAGLAYANGIL, WHICH HAD BEEN DELIVERED BY THE TURKISH AMBASSADOR HERE IN ATHENS, IN WHICH CAGLAYANGIL TOLD BITSIOS THAT HE WAS "WORKING IN THE DIRECTION", THAT THE TWO OF THEM HAD DISCUSSED WHEN THEY WERE IN BRUSSELS. HOWEVER, BITSIOS INDICATED, THIS WAS TOO VAGUE AND IN ANY CASE NOT

SATISFACTORY. HE NEEDED SOMETHING MORE FROM ANKARA.

8. I TOLD BITSIOS THAT AS HE KNEW WE WANTED TO BE AS HELPFUL AS WE COULD AND IN ANY WAY WE COULD. I REMINDED HIM OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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SECRETARY'S MESSAGE TO HIM OF SEVERAL WEEKS AGO (STATE 133608) AND SAID I KNEW THE SECRETARY WOULD BE WILLING TO CONSIDER ANY SUGGESTIONS AT ALL FROM BITSIOS AS TO HOW WE COULD BE HELPFUL.

9. BITSIOS SAID THAT HE HAD NOTHING SPECIFIC TO SUGGEST OR RECOMMEND. HOWEVER, HE SAID, IT WAS OF THE HIGHEST IMPORTANCE THAT THE SECRETARY NOT APPEAR TO BE LOSING INTEREST IN CYPRUS OR GREEK-TURKISH PROBLEMS. I ASSURED HIM THERE WAS NO CHANCE OF THAT. BITSIOS SAID THAT THE TURKS MUST ALSO REALIZE THAT THE SECRETARY WAS CLOSELY FOLLOWING THESE MATTERS AND WAS NOT TAKEN IN BY THE GOOD ATMOSPHERICS THAT ACCOMPANIED AND FOLLOWED THE SUMMIT MEETINGS IN BRUSSELS.

10. BITSIOS SAID THAT HE THOUGHT THE SECRETARY--IN THE LIGHT OF THE PASSAGE OF MORE THAN A MONTH'S TIME SINCE BRUSSELS AND THE FAST APPROACHING NEXT ROUND OF CLERIDES-DENKTASH TALKS IN VIENNA--MIGHT NOW APPROPRIATELY INQUIRE OF CAGLAYANGIL WHAT HAD BEEN TRANSPIRING ON THE CYPRUS QUESTIONS AND WHAT THE PROSPECTS WERE FOR THE UP-COMING VIENNA TALKS. IN ORDER NOT TO INJECT A FURTHER SOUR NOTE INTO THE GREEK-TURKISH BI-LATERAL RELATIONSHIP, BITSIOS THOUGHT IT WOULD BE PREFEREABLE IF SUCH A MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY TO CAGLAYANGIL WERE DISPATCHED ON THE SECRETARY'S OWN INITIATIVE AND NOT APPEAR TO BE A CONSEQUENCE OF A GREEK COMPLAINT. THE SECRETARY MIGHT INDICATE TO CAGLAYANGIL THAT HE WAS DISPATCHING A COMPARABLE MESSAGE TO THE GREEK FOREIGN MINISTER, WHICH WOULD BE A NATURAL ENOUGH THING FOR HIM TO DO.

11. BITSIOS AND I CONCLUDED THIS PORTION OF OUR MEETING WITH HIM ASKING ME TO TRANSMIT TO THE SECRETARY A REPORT OF THIS CONVERSATION GIVING HIS CURRENT VIEWS. HE ALSO ASKED ME TO CONVEY HIS BEST PERSONAL REGARDS TO THE SECRETARY AND SAID HE LOOKED FORWARD TO HAVING THE SECRETARY'S REACTION TO THIS DISCUSSION AS SOON AS CONVENIENT.

12. COMMENT: I BELIEVE A PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM THE SECRETARY TO BITSIOS REACTING TO THE CONVERSATION REPORTED IN THIS TELEGRAM WOULD BE HIGHLY APPROPRIATE, AND I RECOMMEND THAT SUCH A MESSAGE BE SENT SOON. BITSIOS IS AWARE OF THE SECRETARY'S  
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INTENSE PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND OTHER PROBLEMS AT THE PRESENT TIME AND OF HIS BUSY TRAVEL SCHEDULE IN EUROPE DURING THE REMAINDER OF THIS WEEK. THEREFORE, I DO NOT BELIEVE HE EXPECTS A REPLY FROM THE SECRETARY BEFORE EARLY NEXT WEEK, ALTHOUGH OBVIOUSLY THE SOONER THE BETTER. I WOULD HOPE THAT THE REPLY COULD INCLUDE SOME INDICATION THAT THE SECRETARY HAD INDEED ALSO SENT AN APPROPRIATE MESSAGE TO CAGLAYANGIL, IF POSSIBLE ALONG THE LINES SUGGESTED BY BITSIOS. KUBISCH

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